

to the brotherhood of the whole people as an undivided body of sincere Republicans, but he will not make one man on earth forget that there is a whole race within the bounds of that Republic, who are held in no brotherhood at all; and that some of these "sincere Republicans," while advocating the rights of free thought and free action in Europe, are enforcing that "brute obedience" at all risks in America. No; this infidelity to principle and truth is not the way to advance the cause of liberty anywhere, or under any circumstances. To perceive and tell the truth, and to sympathize with the genuine Republicans, instead of insulting by ignoring them, is the only way to serve the good cause, either in Europe or America.

There is some good talk for you. I wonder how that precious Republican, Mr. Sanders, liked it. He is quite silent.

F. W. CHESON.

From the Boston Post.

THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMANCIPATION OF NEGRO SLAVES IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

Messrs. Editors—Permit me to call your attention to a few facts in connection with the above anniversary. There are two sorts of anniversaries, joyful and sorrowful. There are some anniversaries, also, that partake of both these qualities; for instance, the anniversary of a great victory will be a source of joy and merit to the victors, and a source of sorrow to the victims. Of the latter character is the anniversary now before us. In order to make my meaning plain, let us calmly review the facts in the case.

On the 28th of August, 1833, an act passed in the British parliament for abolishing slavery in the British colonies in the West Indies, (viz. 3 and 4 William IV.) and came into operation on the first of August, 1834. This act provided that £200,000 sterling should be applied to the liberation of the slaves. By this act, 770,250 slaves, of all ages and both sexes, were made free. Looking at this side of the picture all the while, and at the other side, but unfortunately it has a reverse side. Let us look at that for a moment.

It having been voted that the immense sum of \$100,000,000 should be paid for the slaves, the next question was how it should be raised? I am not certain how the first five million of pounds was raised; in all probability it was by the issue of exchequer bills, which would amalgamate in the national debt. We have, however, in Lawson's History of Banking, a full account of the borrowing of the remaining £15,000,000 sterling of the Bank of England.

Mr. Lawson says—By virtue of the act 3 and 4 William IV., c. 73, the sum of £15,000,000 was in the year 1835 borrowed for the compensation to the owners of slaves in the British colonies, upon the following terms, viz:—

The contributors were entitled for every £100 contributed, to—

£75 in the 3 per cent. consols, or	£11,250,000
£25 in the 3 per cent. reduced annuities, or	3,750,000
And 13s 7d per cent. per annum, long annuities, or	101,875
	£15,101,875

The annual charge in respect of the annuities created by the above act, is as follows:—

Interest of £11,250,000, three per cent. annuities, including £3,750 paid to the Bank of England, at the rate of £300 per million for management, is	340,875
Interest of £3,750,000 three per cent. reduced, including £1,125 for management, is	118,625
In respect of 13s 7d per cent. long annuities, expiring January 1st, 1860, including £764 for management, is	102,630
Total charge,	£557,130
Same proportion for the five million,	185,718
Total annual charge for the £20,000,000	£742,852

Now, if we multiply this by 20, the number of years the debt will have been contracted, we shall find the next dividend to be due, we have the enormous amount of £14,857,040! Very near seventy-five millions of dollars already paid for the interest and management of this "black debt."

Every child born in Great Britain since the passing of the above act has been born a slave to this black debt, and for the payment of the interest and annual charges for management, its labor is mortgaged, its food is taxed, and its life is burdened!

The abolition writers describe in glowing colors the feelings of the people of the West India Islands on the 31st of July and 1st of August, 1834, the great day of freedom for the black slave. They remember what we and my fellow-sufferers experienced at this period: weary and tired with exhausting labor, many of us were scarcely able to walk to our houses. We rose to work on the following morning with an additional debt of £200,000,000 upon our shoulders, for which we were to labor for our children and our children's children, and for which our food, our clothes, and all that we could in any way consume or enjoy, were to be taxed to the amount, as above stated, of £742,852 per annum through all time, or until some "glorious" first of August shall liberate us and our children.

Now if we suppose that the average earnings of the unskilled laboring classes in England is half a dollar a day, and reckon three hundred working days in a year, it would take the united constant labor of twenty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-one white men, Englishmen, to pay the interest and charges of this black debt. Truly, I think the abolitionists made a grand mistake when they saddled this perpetual curse upon the hard-worked, ill-fed laboring classes of England.

But the strangest matter in the whole affair is, that the planters say they did not receive the whole sum. They acknowledge receiving about £17½ millions of pounds, and leave the government and the abolitionists to account for the other 2½ millions. No doubt there was some good pickings for all.

And now let us see what is the result of all this expense and trouble. Bishop Kipp, in a letter published a short time ago in the *Churchman*, at Kingston, Jamaica, where the steamer on which he embarked for California stopped to "coal," thus describes what he witnessed:—"The streets," says the Bishop, "are crowded with the most wretched looking negroes I have ever seen on the face of the earth. Lazy, shiftless and diseased, they will not work since the manumission act has freed them. Even coaling the steamer is done by women. About a hundred march on board in a line with tubs on their heads, (tubs and coal together weighing about ninety pounds,) and with a wild song empty them into the hold. The men work a day, and then live on it a week. The day-laborers, who are the negro population has sunk in, we are told, in deservable. The inhabitants of Sodom were pure compared with them. "Once," said a gentleman to me, "you did not see an untidy negro in the streets. Now look at them!—pointing to a group of squalid wretches. This is the varying testimony of all the residents I have seen."

You will thus see, gentlemen, why we, who have paid so much money, have cause for sorrow on this anniversary.

An ENGLISHMAN.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE IN MANCHESTER.

We observe that, on the first of next month, an Anti-Slavery Conference is to be held in the Athenaeum, in commemoration of West India Emancipation, the anniversary of which falls on that day. There is no event in the annals of our national history more worthy of commemoration than the breaking asunder the fetters which bound the manhood of 800,000 slaves, and the rendering them and their posterity free forever. Twenty years have passed away since the accomplishment of that great act of national justice—since "that day," to quote the language of Lord Brougham, "so confidently and joyfully anticipated by the poor slave, and so sorely dreaded by their masters." One appropriate act of the Conference will be to prove by facts that the noble Lord was right when he further said that, "if ever there was a picture interesting to look upon—if ever there was a passage in the history of a people redounding to their eternal honor—if ever there was a complete refutation of all the scandalous calumnies which had been heaped upon them for ages, that picture and that passage are to be found in the uniform

and unvarying history of that people throughout the whole of the West India Islands." We understand that this theme will form the subject of an address from that eloquent advocate of freedom, Mr. George Thompson.

The retrospect of the past struggle will be succeeded by a review of the present aspects of the Slavery Question, especially in the United States of America. The Compromise Measures, and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; the recent extension of slavery to the great North West Territory; the contemplated seizure of Cuba and Mexico; the evident design of the slaveholders to obtain permanent control of the Federal Government; the Boston fugitive slave riots; the position of the several political and ecclesiastical parties in America; the principles and policy of the various sections of American abolitionists,—each of these important subjects will, in turn, be discussed by the Conference.

We learn that equal prominence will be given to the instrumentalities that should be employed by the friends of the slave in this country. There is but little doubt that the development of the cotton-producing resources of India, and the cheapening of the cost of transport from the cotton fields of sea coast, would do much to undermine the foundations of American slavery. The formation of a sound anti-slavery public opinion in this country, and frequent protests on the part of British churches against the unchristian course of the pro-slavery denominations of America, are also deemed of great importance. These questions, together with the shameful violation of the rights of British colored subjects who visit the Southern States, the connivance of Spain with the African slave trade, and other important matters, will receive their due share of attention.

We trust that this meeting will be worthy of the occasion—worthy of that cause of which Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Brougham, were the leaders—and that being practical in its plans, as well as just in its objects, it will receive a large measure of public sympathy and support.

The period is opportune for the transmission of a few words of encouragement from England to the anti-slavery party in America, which is gaining strength since the enactment of the Nebraska Bill. Several State judges have declared the Fugitive Slave Law an unconstitutional encroachment on the rights of individual States; and the Senate of the State of Connecticut has passed a scheme of law, which is likely to be carried, dealing out fine and imprisonment to all who shall falsely declare any colored person the property of any other person, and absolutely prohibiting gaolers, or State officers of the peace, from receiving into custody any colored person on the charge of being the property of any other person. If more of the free States adopt the same action in this matter, the law of Congress will be null and void.

On this subject, the *National Era* remarks:

It will be seen that, in the earlier years of the republic, the free colored population, both North and South, increased rapidly—in the former section by general acts of emancipation, by which slavery was gradually abolished—in the latter by voluntary emancipations. The latter have now almost entirely ceased from the unfortunate state of feeling which prevails in the Southern States; while the source of increase from Northern emancipation has been dried up by the final extinction of slavery. The number of slaves liberated by New York and New Jersey, between 1810 and 1840, was 20,377. Pennsylvania passed a gradual emancipation act in 1780, which was further amended in 1788, so that declared free, at the age of twenty-eight, who have been born since 1780.

Slaveholders were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to remove their slaves beyond the limits of the State; and hence it is evident that the emancipation was almost gradual. Similar results were obtained in the emancipation acts of other States. The following table shows a rapid increase of the free colored population of Pennsylvania, from 1790 to 1820, by which time the greater bulk of the slaves became free. Since that period, the increase has been slow:

Similar results are observable in other States, and demonstrate, by the bye, that the North did not abolish slavery by running their slaves off South.

A PAIR FUGITIVE SLAVE.

The editor of the *Vermont Tribune* gives a thrilling account of a fugitive slave, who had been pursued through Vermont to Canada. He says—"She is 20 years of age, tall, well-formed, and of far more than ordinary intelligence, able to read fluently, a member of the Methodist Church, and the daughter of her mother! yes, she was running away from her own father, Rufus Gillespie, of Boston. He, because he had sold her to a South Carolina planter for \$1100. This Rufus had sold his own flesh and blood for so much hard cash, and but for his daughter's shrewdness and heroism would have now been fingering the price of blood. Charlotte, the fugitive, ran away, by secreted in the woods eighteen days, found a friend in Baltimore, who sent her to a Quaker in Philadelphia by railroad, by a mode we dare not tell, lest it should involve him in trouble. Her long exposure and dreadful journey to Philadelphia brought on a fever, from the effects of which she had not recovered when here at St. Albans—From Philadelphia to Boston by sea, thence to Maine, then to avoid some blood-hound Southerners who were on her track, she turned her steps this way, avoiding her pursuers with consummate address, and finding excellent friends all the way, good accommodations on the U. S. R. R.; with the money given her here, she went on her hurried way to the land where she could breathe free, God protect and guide her.

From the Cincinnati Commercial, July 21.

AN AFRICAN'S WOE.

On Wednesday evening, some scholars from the Mount Auburn school were attracted to an alley by the dismal groans of a respectable and rather dignified appearing negro, apparently aged sixty-five or seventy years. The white grave blossoms on the black man's head were stained and dotted with blood, from two or three gashes on the forehead and skull, having the appearance of club wounds. Water was brought to the sufferer, and when a soldierly man recovered, he confessed to being a runaway slave from Kentucky. He had escaped across the river with three daughters, the youngest being fourteen, whom he was anxious to educate in a free State or in Canada.

The party had safely proceeded as far as the foot of Sycamore Hill, when he was suddenly attacked by a gang of ruffians, probably from this side of the river, knocked down, cut and beaten, and left senseless on the ground, where he was found by the children. When the old man came to himself, he found that his daughters had been kidnapped! His own pockets had also been rifled of six dollars in silver! It was nearly dark when the party was attacked, so that the wretched African is not able to identify the scoundrels; he is only certain that none of them were of the vicinity of his master's estate. They were probably hired bullies from rum holes and brothels, or fellows of like character, who stole the negroes and hurried them across the river for sale. For an anticipated reward, the river for a reward of \$1000 had been offered for the fugitives. They were from Lexington, Kentucky.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, AUGUST 11, 1854.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION—THE BOSTON POST—AN ENGLISHMAN.

"It is a foul bird that dirties its own nest," says the proverb; and he must be a bastard Englishman, who makes one of the most glorious achievements in the history of his country the occasion of bitter reproach and malignant defamation.

We have copied, in another column, from the *Boston Post*, (the appropriate medium for such a contemptible assault,) a letter respecting the abolition of slavery in the British West India colonies, to which the signature of "AN ENGLISHMAN" is attached,—a forgery, we are strongly inclined to believe. The *Post* is capable of the trick, falsehood, and imposture, as the servile tool of the Slave Power, and the bribed and pensioned supporter of a thoroughly corrupt Administration. There is nothing reliable about it, excepting its unmitigated scoundrelism, which is never wanting.

"AN ENGLISHMAN"—counterfeit or otherwise, no matter which—thinks the anniversary of West India Emancipation a sad day for the laboring classes in England, and an event to be forever deplored, because £200,000,000 sterling were paid to secure that great event—to which sum, he says, must be added "very near 75 millions of dollars already paid for the interest and management of this black debt." And he very coolly adds, "Truly, I think the abolitionists made a grand mistake when they saddled this perpetual curse upon the hard-worked, ill-fed, laboring classes of England."

Now, in the first place, heavily as the pecuniary tax referred to may be felt by the classes for whom so much sham sympathy is affected,—as between the continuance of the horrid system of West India slavery, and the payment of the sum given for its peaceful termination, the "hard-worked, ill-fed laborers of England" never hesitated in their choice, though justly objecting to such an alternative. Their sympathies were freely given to the West India bondman; their petitions for his release were frequently sent up to Parliament; and they loudly rejoiced when his chains were broken, even though their own burden was made somewhat heavier thereby. It was in Manchester, in Birmingham, in Sheffield, in Leeds, in Glasgow, in Paisley, and other noted manufacturing towns, that his cause always found the strongest support—the operatives knew how to "remember them that were in bonds as bound with them."

In the second place, the abolitionists of England had nothing to do with saddling the debt of £200,000,000 sterling upon the laboring classes of that country. It was incurred against their earnest protestations; they denounced it as unequalled for and unjust; they declared that compensation was due to the outraged slave, not to the tyrannical master. But they were overborne by the government; and if Buxton and his friends finally waived their opposition to it, it was solely on the ground of its resulting in the safe and speedy overthrow of slavery in all the colonies. If their ideas of justice to the planters had been consulted, the slaves would have been set free "without money and without price."

But, after all, large as the sum was, thus wickily exacted by the planters, the blessings of emancipation in due time, even pecuniarily, will strike a heavy balance on the other side, for all classes connected. Freedom always pays—Slavery always is a swindle. "AN ENGLISHMAN" shows his American animus, by attempting to prove that emancipation has been a grievous curse—the streets of Jamaica, for example, being "crowded with the most wretched looking negroes on the face of the earth," compared with whom, the inhabitants of Sodom were pure! He gives us the testimony of Bishop Kipp, from the South, on his way to California—a prejudiced pro-slavery witness, incapable of recording or even discerning the truth. And the object of all this vituperation and slander is, the perpetuity and extension of slavery indefinitely by our own government! O, "curled spite!"

ANNOUNCEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

We have not seen, for a long time, an announcement so laughable and so extraordinary as the following, which we copy from the *London Morning Advertiser*, of the 17th ultimo:—

"THE GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT MANCHESTER. This convention, to be held on the 1st of August at Manchester, will receive an additional interest in the presence of the Hon. John Van Buren, a prominent American politician, and son of Martin Van Buren, ex-President of the United States. Mr. Van Buren visits this country to be present at the forthcoming anti-slavery convention, and to advise with his fellow-countrymen in the cause of the oppressed slave in the United States, with which his father, as well as himself, has for several years been identified. This is another evidence of the increasing hatred of that peculiar institution gaining ground in the feelings of every right-minded man. We shall hail Mr. Van Buren's presence at this interesting period of the anti-slavery cause in America as of great good omen. A man can better advise his fellow-workers in the noble cause, no man will be listened to with more attention, nor, considering his antecedents, is more capable of giving practical directions. In our impression of Saturday, we gave a list of the important subjects to be discussed. All these subjects affect, more or less, the interests of the several States, as well as the interests of the world. There is none, however, of such vital importance as that proposing the discussion of the feasibility of dissolving that great union of States, which has too often been said to be governed by the hearts of a free people, and now stands in its greatness an example to the world. The discussion of this momentous topic will form a new phase of the anti-slavery movement in this country. With patriots such as George Thompson, W. Wells Brown, and Parker Pillsbury, Mr. Van Buren cannot fail to render good service to the cause of freedom by instructing his fellow-workers on this side of the Atlantic."

It is true, that an anti-slavery convention was to be held in Manchester on the 1st of August, and that Mr. Thompson, Mr. Pillsbury, and Mr. Brown intended to be present; but all that is here said about John Van Buren and his father, is on this side of the Atlantic, so palpable a hoax, that we marvel so sagacious and intelligent a journal as the *London Advertiser* could be imposed upon by it. It is within the scope of possibility that the rollicking "Prince" has become a convert to genuine abolitionism; but if so, we shall be as shy of him as the apostles were of Saul of Tarsus after his notable conversion, until his character be established!

AMERICAN RELIGION.

In the *Manchester (Eng.) Examiner and Times*, of the 19th ultimo, is a long and valuable communication from our friend PARKER PILLSBURY, showing the connection of American Religion with American Slavery. It is just such a document as is needed on that side of the Atlantic, to show how much necessity there has been for a bold and comprehensive impeachment of the American Church, as responsible for the continuance of the slave system. After noticing the malicious utterances of "infidelity," so loudly raised against the American Abolitionists, Mr. Pillsbury says:—

"We are only a little band of earnest, and I trust, honest men and women, who are seeking the overthrow of slavery. And we call upon all who love God or man, or justice and liberty, to stand in the work, solemnly engaging to assure to one for religious opinion's sake, so long as it is true to the fundamental doctrines on which our platform is based. What more or better could we do?"

"We are indebted to our friend, GERRIT SMITH, for his speeches delivered on various topics of importance in the U. S. House of Representatives. His refusal to vote for the Homestead Bill, (strongly as he was in favor of it in all other respects), because the free people of color were expressly precluded from its benefits, was a noble act, and a sublime addition to principle, worthy of the highest commendation."

"We have received another letter from JOSEPH BARKER, now in England, and shall give it a place in our columns next week."

CELEBRATION OF W. L. EMANCIPATION AT ABINGTON, AUGUST FIRST, 1854.

[PHOTOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. YERRINGTON.]

SPEECH OF REV. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I do not know whether my voice is going to help or hinder that greatful force which is said to proceed from the contribution-box—[The Finance Committee had just entered upon their duty.] You know it is said, if you want to disperse a crowd, pass the hat round; but I hope it is not so with an anti-slavery crowd; and as I stand here one of those "preachers of the pulpit" from whom reference has been made, you must imagine you are in meeting; and of course, you will not go out. And as I am particularly uncertain how far behind my audience my voice is reaching now,—for the wind is blowing me, and, as Elias Hicks says, it takes a live fish to swim against the stream, and live birds to fly against the wind,—if you want to hear what I have to say, perhaps you had better take the advice of the Irish sportsman to the deer—"Indule, honey, if you want to be hit, you must come round behind me." (Laughter.)

We have heard our friend Clier speak here, and he has a right to speak on this occasion, by virtue of his nation. This is the Englishman's day. I blush, as an American, to own it, but it is. We have to borrow our noblest festival of freedom, as we have to borrow other things, from the old countries across the water; and I am sorry to say, as some of our States regulate their other obligations, so some of them would be glad to regulate this also; but Massachusetts will hold on to it. (Cheers.) To me now, in the sadness of my mature experience on this question of slavery, the First of August is a tragical day. And, yet, it is a day we must keep; for without it, our Fourth of July tells but half the story. The Fourth of July gave freedom to the white population of the land; we need now a First of August to add to that the black population, and give us a land of freedom indeed. The First of August says to us, American people, pointing back to the Fourth of July, and round upon the results of its own noble emancipation, "This ought to be done, and yet, it is a day we must keep; for without it, our Fourth of July tells but half the story. The Fourth of July gave freedom to the white population of the land; we need now a First of August to add to that the black population, and give us a land of freedom indeed. The First of August says to us, American people, pointing back to the Fourth of July, and round upon the results of its own noble emancipation, "This ought to be done, and yet, it is a day we must keep; for without it, our Fourth of July tells but half the story. The Fourth of July gave freedom to the white population of the land; we need now a First of August to add to that the black population, and give us a land of freedom indeed. 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